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INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 AF-10 ARA-10 OMB-01 EB-08
AID-05 /125 W
-----127580 261923Z /42

R 261653Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6545
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 VIENNA 04834

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, XC, XA, XM, AU

SUBJ: CRITICAL COMMENTS BY KREISKY ON SOVIET COMMUNISM
AND EUROCOMMUNISM BEFORE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS

1. SUMMARY. SOCIALIST PARTY CHAIRMAN KREISKY MADE KEYNOTE
SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS MAY 19, CONTAINING LENGTHY,
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CRITICAL PASSAGES ON SOVIET COMMUNISM AND EUROCOMMUNISM.
HE TRACED DEVELOPMENT OF CPSU FROM "INDUSTRIAL SERFDOM,"
THROUGH ONE OF HISTDRY'S WORST DICTATORSHIPS, TO CURRENT
STAGE OF A FEW ENCDURAGING SIGNS OF PRESSURE FOR INTERNAL
CHANGE. WHILE LONG-TERM TREND IN SOVIET UNION SEEMS TO
FAVOR ULTIMATELY FORCES WORKING FOR CHANGE FOR BETTER,
KREISKY CAUTIONED THAT RELAPSE MAY OCCUR IN INTERVENING

PERIOD AND RETURN TO STALINISM SHOULD NOT BE DISMISSED AS IMPOSSIBLE. ON EUROCOMMUNISM THEME, KREISKY EXPRESSED VIEW THAT SELECT CP'S IN WESTERN EUROPE ARE IN FACT APPLYING LENIN'S TENETS ON HOW TO GAIN POWER BY MAKING COMPROMISES WITH NONMARXIST PARTIES AND BY MOUTHING DEMOCRATIC PHRASEOLOGY. ITALIAN CP IS NOW APPROACHING CRITICAL PERIOD WHERE ITS LEFT WING MUST CONTEND WITH "LEFTIST RADICALISM" AND "NEW ANARCHY." KREISKY'S OVERALL CONCLUSION WAS THAT PROCESS OF EUROCOMMUNISM BEARS CONTINUOUS WATCHING, CAREFUL ANALYSIS AND SUSPENSION OF PREMATURE JUDGMENT.

KREISKY'S CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF COMMUNISM IN EAST AND WEST EUROPE APPEARS TO BE MULTIPURPOSE. ON DOMESTIC SIDE, IT SERVES TO REIN IN PARTY'S OWN LEFT WING AND TO SHARPLY DELINEATE PARTY FROM LOCAL COMMUNISTS IN PREPARATION FOR IMPORTANT ELECTIONS IN FALL OF 1978 AND 1979. ON INTERNATIONAL SCENE, SPEECH REAFFIRMS NO-CONTRACT POLICY OF AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS WITH CP'S IN EUROPE, PROVIDES COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT FOR USE BY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL AND SERVES AS SOCIALIST COUNTER TO STRUGGLE BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS FOR SYMPATHY AND COOPERATION OF THIRD WORLD LEADERS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN LENGTHY AND LARGELY IDEOLOGICAL KEYNOTE SPEECH ON MAY 19 TO ABOUT 1,000 PARTY DELEGATES AND GUESTS AT 24TH CONFIDENTIAL

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SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS IN VIENNA, PARTY CHAIRMAN KREISKY ANALYZED SOVIET COMMUNISM AND EUROCOMMUNISM IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL. HIGHLIGHTS OF KREISKY'S CRITICAL COMMENTARY FOLLOW.

A. COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOVIET UNION (CPSU) ADHERED IN EARLY DECADES OF ITS RULE TO MARXIST THEORY OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION TO CREATE, IN EFFECT, AN "INDUSTRIAL SERFDOM" IN WHICH DEMOCRACY WAS IMPOSSIBLE. IN FACT, INTERWAR PERIOD WAS MARKED BY CREATION OF ONE OF HISTORY'S WORST DICTATORSHIPS.

B. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, TREMENDOUS CHANGES IN PRODUCTIVE FORCES UNDERWAY IN SOVIET UNION ARE NOW GENERATING INCREASED PRESSURES FOR INTERNAL CHANGE IN SOVIET SOCIETY. THIS IS LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT -- EVEN IN LIGHT OF MARXIST TOOLS OF ANALYSIS -- SINCE SEIZURE OF POWER BY COMMUNIST PARTIES DOES NOT RESCIND MARXIST LAWS OF DEVELOPMENT IN SOCIETY.

C. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, "SENSE OF REALITY" MUST BE MAINTAINED IN WEIGHING IMPORTANCE TO BE ATTACHED TO SUCH

LIMITED INDICATIONS OF "LIBERALIZATION PROCESS." DESPITE TENDENCIES TOWARD CHANGE, A WORSENING OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION COULD LEAD SOVIET LEADERS TO RE-INSTITUTE MORE REPRESSIVE INTERNAL SYSTEM. ACCORDINGLY, IT WOULD BE "UNHISTORICAL AND UNREALISTIC" TO BELIEVE THAT EPOCH OF STALINISM IS OVER ONCE AND FOR ALL.

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AID-05 /125 W

-----127907 261924Z /42

R 261653Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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FRANCE, SPAIN AND FINLAND IN EUROCOMMUNIST CATEGORY:
THEIR SIZE AND IMPORTANCE IN POLITICAL SPECTRUM AND
TACTICS THEY ARE FOLLOWING TO GAIN POWER. APPARENT WILL-
INGNESS OF SEVERAL WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES TO
COMPROMISE, TO ACCEPT DEMOCRATIC STATE IN PLURALIST

SOCIETY DOES NOT REPRESENT NEW DEVELOPMENT. TACTICAL
MANEUVERING OF SEVERAL WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES
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ACCORDS WITH PREACHINGS AND PRACTICES OF LENIN HIMSELF
BEFORE AND AFTER OCTOBER REVOLUTION. TO GAIN WIDER SUP-
PORT AND ACCESS TO POWER, THESE PARTIES MUST FALL BACK ON
THEME OF "NATIONAL PECULIARITIES" AND CLAIM ADHERENCE TO
DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW, THEREBY REJECTING "UNCONDI-
TIONAL LOYALTY" TO CPSU. THIS TACTIC, HOWEVER, HAS IN
MORE RECENT PERIOD GIVEN RISE TO MAJOR TENSION ON LEFT
WING OF THESE CP'S. IF "LEFTIST RADICALISM" DISOWNS CP'S
TO EVEN GREATER EXTENT, CAN THESE CP'S MAKE UP FOR LOSSES
ON LEFT BY GAINS MORE TOWARD CENTER OF POLITICAL SPECTRUM?
CRUCIAL QUESTION THUS ARISES WHETHER CP LEADERS WHO HAVE
PURSUED SUCH POLICY (E.G., IN ITALY) WILL NOW BE FORCED
BY INTERNAL PARTY PRESSURES TO BACKTRACK AND REVISE THEIR
POLICIES. PROBLEM IS MOST PRESSING AGAIN IN ITALIAN CP,
SINCE "LEFTIST RADICALISM" THERE ADHERES TO "NEW ANAR-
CHISM." DIABOLICAL ASPECT OF LATTER IS THAT ITS SUPPORTERS
CALL THEMSELVES COMMUNISTS, SPEAK LANGUAGE OF FORMER
COMMUNISTS AND PROFESS LOYALTY TO LENIN. ACCORDING TO
KREISKY, SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA MUST WATCH CAREFULLY
DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES, AVOID MAKING RASH
OR PREMATURE JUDGMENTS ON SUBJECT, AND BE EQUALLY CRITICAL
OF EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES AS THEY ARE OF THEIR OWN PARTY .

3. KREISKY WAS QUESTIONED AT PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING
PARTY CONGRESS WHETHER HE THOUGHT HIS CRITICAL REMARKS
ABOUT SOVIET COMMUNISM WOULD GENERATE NEGATIVE REACTIONS
FROM EASTERN EUROPE. HIS RESPONSE WAS THAT RULING
COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE NEVER SHOWN CONCERN ABOUT SENSI-
TIVITIES OF SOCIALIST PARTIES IN WEST. IN ADDITION, HE
NOTED THAT RULING COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE ALSO STATED
REPEATEDLY THAT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE DOES NOT INCLUDE
IDEOLOGICAL COEXISTENCE AND HIS (KREISKY'S) REMARKS BELONG
IN LATTER CATEGORY.

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4. COMMENTS. A. KREISKY'S CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF SOVIET
COMMUNISM AND EUROCOMMUNISM CAME AS NO SURPRISE TO
KREISKY WATCHERS. CHANCELLOR HAS NEVER BEEN RELUCTANT TO
PROVIDE REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET AND EE COMMUNISM,
BASED ON HIS OWN EXTENSIVE, FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE IN DEAL-
ING WITH THESE REGIMES. HIS SPEECH WAS NEVERTHELESS MOST

UNUSUAL IN PROVIDING SUCH COMPREHENSIVE IDEOLOGICAL TREATMENT OF SUBJECT, IN ATTACKING SOVIET COMMUNIST SYSTEM SO SHARPLY, AND IN EXPRESSING INCREASED SKEPTICISM OF POLITICAL VIABILITY OF EUROCOMMUNISM.

B. CONSIDERATIONS OF BOTH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL NATURE SEEM TO HAVE MOTIVATED KREISKY'S CRITICAL COMMENTARY. ON DOMESTIC SIDE, SPEECH CAN BE SEEN AS POLITICAL SEMINAR FOR LEFT WING OF PARTY, PARTICULARLY SOME ELEMENTS IN SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION. SPEECH REAFFIRMED LONG-EXISTING POLICY OF SENIOR, MORE PRAGMATIC ELEMENTS IN AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST PARTY OPPOSED TO ANY FORM OF POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH COMMUNISTS, EITHER DOMESTIC OR INTERNATIONAL. RE-ENUNCIATION OF SUCH CLEAR-CUT POLICY LINE WAS FELT NECESSARY, SINCE MAJOR AND CONTINUING EFFORT BY KREISKY GOVERNMENT TO EXPAND TRADE AND RELATIONS IN GENERAL WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAS POSSIBLY BEEN MISREAD BY SOME IN PARTY TO MEAN MELLOWING OF ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNIST PARTIES IN POWER.

C. ELECTIONS IN VIENNA THIS FALL, AND AT NATIONAL LEVEL IN FALL 1979, ARE ALSO NO DOUBT A CONSIDERATION IN KREISKY'S MIND FOR HIS PARTICULARLY TOUGH STANCE AT THIS JUNCTURE. SHARP DELINEATION BETWEEN SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS ENUNCI-

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SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 AF-10 ARA-10 OMB-01 EB-08
AID-05 /125 W

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ATED BY KREISKY UNDERCUTS ANY ATTEMPT ON PART OF OPPOSITION PARTIES TO RAISE POSSIBLE CHARGES AGAINST SOCIALISTS OF BEING "SOFT ON COMMUNISM." INCUMBENT SOCIALISTS LEARNED WELL LESSON OF 1966 WHEN LEFT WING OF PARTY, WHICH WAS THEN IN ASCENDANCY, HESITATED IN REJECTING COMMUNIST OFFER OF COOPERATION, WHICH WAS NO DOUBT A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO OPPOSITION PARTY -- MORE ATTUNED TO GENERAL CONSERVATIVE NATURE OF AUSTRIAN SOCIETY -- WINNING ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF
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SEATS IN ELECTION.

D. THERE ALSO SEEM TO BE SEVERAL INTERNATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS AS WELL, RELATED IN PART TO KREISKY'S PROMINENT LEADERSHIP ROLE IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. LATTER ORGANIZATION, WE UNDERSTAND, WILL MEET IN QUEBEC LATER THIS YEAR, MEETING FOR WHICH POSITION PAPERS, INCLUDING ANALYSIS OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, ARE NOW BEING PREPARED. KREISKY'S SPEECH ARTICULATED WELL ONE MAJOR VIEWPOINT IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. IT IS ALSO APPARENT THAT INTERPARTY CONTACTS WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES, SUCH AS VISIT OF BRANDT TO HUNGARY THIS YEAR AS SPD PARTY CHAIRMAN, REMAIN ANATHEMA FOR AUSTRIA'S SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERSHIP. KREISKY'S TOUGH STANCE ON COMMUNISM CLEARLY SERVED TO REAFFIRM THIS POSITION, PARTICULARLY SINCE CP'S IN EASTERN EUROPE CAN NOW BE IN TURN EXPECTED TO DENOUNCE KREISKY FOR SUPPORTING "CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM."

E. FINALLY, THERE IS IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION OF STRUGGLE BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS FOR SYMPATHY AND COOPERATION OF THIRD WORLD LEADERS. KREISKY HAS BEEN ONE OF STRONGEST PROPONENTS FOR MUCH GREATER INVOLVEMENT OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL OUTSIDE OF EUROPE, PARTICULARLY IN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA, AS COUNTER TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES, BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY (E.G., MARSHALL PLAN PROPOSED FOR THIRD WORLD). HIS OUTSPOKEN SKEPTICISM REGARDING ABILITY OF COMMUNISM TO COMBINE ECONOMIC WELLBEING AND DEMOCRACY DOVETAILS WITH HIS OWN PERSONAL BELIEF THAT A WESTERN EUROPEAN SOCIALIST-TYPE ALTERNATIVE REPRESENTS REAL LONG-TERM THREAT TO COMMUNIST EFFORTS IN MOST

OF THIRD WORLD. BORG

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMUNISM, POLITICAL PARTIES, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978VIENNA04834
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780223-0643
Format: TEL
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780511/aaaaajlj.tel
Line Count: 332
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5a743895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2538741
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CRITICAL COMMENTS BY KREISKY ON SOVIET COMMUNISM AND EUROCOMMUNISM BEFORE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, XC, XA, XM, AU, (KREISKY, BRUNO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5a743895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014